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fight and die in the trenches strive for the promotion of sound principles of international law, based on the good will of nations, against its numberless violations by arrogant worshippers of mere force."

Our duty to Germany is to convince her of the mighty importance of these principles and points of view. If this can be accomplished, no sacrifice would be too great in the undertaking—no, not even the sacrifices of war.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY AND THE WAR

A MONTH ago we stated in these columns the purpose of the American Peace Society to support the Government in whatever course it took in the crisis at that time impending. In the interval, our Government has declared a state of war to exist with Germany. If the Government is at war with Germany, its citizens are at war, and, in turn, the American Peace Society, membered and supported by American citizens, finds itself an integral part of a belligerent nation. But how may an organization founded and maintained for the purpose of establishing international peace reconcile itself in the support of a nation that declares war?

The answer is not difficult, if one lays aside the temptation to maintain a bigoted consistency, and considers the facts. Our problem is the same as that of any individual reformer confronted by conditions antagonistic to his ideals. Let us say that a man believes, as many do, that prisons should be hospitals for sick minds and souls, rather than soulless dungeons for human bodies, and that he is faced by the fact that no such model prison exists. If he is sensible and amenable to reason, he is unlikely to allow a felon to go free simply for the reason that there is no ideal place in which to incarcerate him. It is quite as reasonable that the peaceworker, believing that wars are vicious, inhuman, and unnecessary, yet, confronted by the fact that as yet they are the only resort for nations whose differences are irreconcilable, should agree whole-heartedly, albeit sadly, to follow his Government into a war which that Government honestly believes to be inevitable and just. In spite of any belief that this particular war could have been avoided; that his Government may not have exhausted all possible pacific measures; may not have tried its patience as yet to the point of unendurability, or may not have had the wisdom to see beyond a false and delusive present, his Government is still his Government, set up by him and his fellow-citizens and representing a society of individuals in which, by the implications of democracy, the majority shall rule and the minority obey. Unless he wishes to renounce his citizenship, he has only the plain duty before him to follow the will of the majority.

What applies to the individual American pacifist applies also to the organization, and, in this instance, to the American Peace Society. This Society believes that the United States Government, in its wisdom, has been honest in its declaration of a state of war with Germany, in that it regarded this as a necessary measure which it could not avoid. We believe that our allegiance to our Government calls for our support in this action. We believe that as an American institution we can be of service to our country in this emergency, while at the same time recognizing our allegiance to the cause of humanity at large. However we may long for the things which might have been, the time for the discussion of these things is past. The time for action has come.

The American Peace Society stands for international peace and justice. Some of its members believe the taking of human life in any instance to be a sin; others do not hold this stringent belief, and, while they abhor needless sacrifice of life, recognize it as a necessity in certain circumstances, and regard it as justified when engaged in for what seems to them a just and righteous cause. The American Peace Society makes no attempt to judge between these two classes of people. It calls to its ranks those who believe in the principles set forth in its program for international order. It finds nothing unpatriotic in that program, nothing conflicting with the action of any American citizen in the present situation. Whether he enlists for active service or joins the ranks of conscientious objectors, he may still be a loyal and enthusiastic supporter of this Society. What his personal prejudices are is entirely his own affair.

We have said that the American Peace Society supports the Government in this war. Just how that support may be rendered in detail it is as yet impossible to indicate. Circumstances will determine its action in due course of time. But for the whole Society and all of its members we may say this much at present: First, this Society, individually and collectively, stands back of the President on the ground that in war the President speaks for the whole people; second, whatever specific duties it shall be called upon to perform, it holds still to its ancient ideal of a governed world and established peace through international organization; third, each of its members, holding that ideal, will work out in his own way his own responsibilities and duties in the service of his Government. We believe that no true member of this Society will withhold that service. We believe that the man who stays at home may well give as much in his way as the man who goes to the front or who enters in active military or naval service of whatever sort may be required. We believe that if our members can conscientiously engage in active service they will do so; that if they cannot, they will lend their efforts in

other directions "behind the firing line." We believe that if there are those whose honest conviction prevents them from engaging in war even in a secondary capacity, they will yet do all in their power generously and selflessly to aid their country, if not to wage and win the war, at least to emerge from that war with clean hands and clear vision.

In brief, then, the American Peace Society reiterates its pledge of loyalty to the Government, and gives assurance on behalf of its members that it will support and not obstruct the actions of that Government in the present situation so long as those actions represent the will of the majority. Furthermore, it feels itself justified in declaring that its members, each after his own fashion, will corroborate this declaration in free and generous service of every possible sort which they can render to their country.

WHAT SHALL THE HARVEST BE?

DEMOCRACIES are practically all arrayed today against autocracy. What is to be the outcome?

Baron de Montesquieu begins one of the earlier chapters in his "Spirit of Laws" with these words: "There is no great share of probity necessary to support a monarchical or despotic government. The force of laws in one, and the prince's arm in the other, are sufficient to direct and maintain the whole; but in a popular state one spring more is necessary, namely, virtue." We are going into this war for the promotion of the principles of democracy conceived of by this great Frenchman two hundred and fifty years ago. Can there be any "virtue" in the step we are taking?

De Tocqueville, another great admirer of democratic institutions, sensed keenly their faults and dangers. Under the democratic system, he saw the people frequently shaking off their state of dependence "just long enough to select their master and then relapse into it again." He further believed it easier to establish an absolute and despotic government amongst a people in which the conditions of society are equal than amongst another, and there to oppress men and strip them of "several of the highest qualities of humanity."

Take the food situation in this country as a concrete example pressing for solution. While our crops were unusually large in 1914 and 1915, production in all the necessities of life fell off seriously last year. The wheat crop of the United States in 1914 was 891,000,000 bushels; in 1915, 1,025,801,000 bushels; in 1916 it fell to 640,000,000 bushels. The wheat crop of Canada for 1916 was about half that of 1915. Coupled with these facts is the impressive increase in our exportations. For the year ending July 31, 1914, North America exported

284,000,000 bushels of wheat. One year later we exported 400,000,000 bushels. For the year ending July 31, 1916, we exported 480,000,000 bushels. There have been pronounced increases of exportations from South America, while the Russian wheat crop has been reduced from 174,000,000 to 5,000,000 bushels.

On the first day of March this country was faced with a stock of staple foods on the farms and in the elevators lower than at any like period since the year 1897. Combined with this fact we are faced with an unprecedented increase in the prices of labor, fertilizer, feed, live stock, seed, and farm machinery. Furthermore, whatever the outcome of the war, the foreign demand for our supplies will be very great for a period of years.

Now, if our producers of foods increase their acreage, improve their methods, increase their output, bring more men back to the soil; if our national banks and those affiliated with them extend all possible legitimate credit to the farmers; if, in short, our American people realize at last the wickedness of extravagance, sense more fully the dependence of all upon each and each upon all, organize themselves more effectively in the interest of a better community of living, and learn at last to practice what Montesquieu called the "virtue" of democracy, we may yet overcome the dangers familiar to De Tocqueville and develop out of this, the world's greatest calamity, a genuine good.

But in the realm of ideas there are still graver difficulties. The first amendment to our United States Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." And yet at an anti-war demonstration in Pittsburgh before our entrance upon the war a minister of the Gospel was arrested and is now out on \$5,000 bail. A group of Quakers has been forbidden to hold a prearranged meeting in Philadelphia, and a peace meeting in Baltimore was broken up by a mob. Press censorship is already in vogue with us. Right or wrong, we are already dominated by certain tyrannies of the majority, and the free expression of thought may now mean ostracism or worse. All this is upon us in spite of our Constitution, and in spite of Lincoln's remark that "where the people know the truth the country is safe."

There is little reason for believing that we shall further escape the inequalities and crimes accompanying war. Wealth and privilege will suffer less than the poor and needy. Food supply and transportation speculators are already with us. Extreme wealth and food riots are contemporary American facts. In the midst of a war declared for the advancement of human rights we shall be inevitably confronted with and jeopardized by the dangers of the wrongs of despotism.